

Message Text

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TAGS: PFOR, US, JA, TW

SUBJ: MIKI VISIT PAPER: TAIWAN, THE UNDISCUSSED TOPIC

1. US VIEWS ON A SOLUTION OF THE TAIWAN PROBLEM MAY HAVE BEEN WHAT PRIME MINISTER MIKI HAD IN MIND WHEN HE SUGGESTED TO AMBASSADOR ON JULY 15 THAT US AND JAPAN EXPLORE IN COMPLETE CANDOR SUBJECTS WHICH HAD NOT BEEN TOUCHED ON THUS FAR. THE JAPANESE HAVE BEEN SILENT ON THIS SUBJECT LATELY. TAIWAN WAS NEVER MENTIONED DURING EXTENSIVE ROUND OF CONTACTS IN RECENT MONTHS CONDUCTED TO PIECE TOGETHER JAPAN'S ASSESSMENT OF POST-WAR SITUATION IN ASIA. YET THOUGH JAPAN RESTORED DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS WITH PEKING IN 1972, CUTTING FORMAL TIES WITH TAIWAN, THERE IS STILL CONSIDERABLE INTEREST ON PART OF WIDE RANGE OF JAPANESE POLITICAL SPECTRUM IN TAIWAN' SPRESENT AND FUTURE WELFARE. THIS IS, OF COURSE, PARTICULARLY TRUE WITHIN MIKI'S LDP. ONLY SMALL PART OF LDP LEFT ADVOCATES THAT JAPAN (OR US) FULLY ACCEPT PEKING'S DEMANDS REGARDING TAIWAN.

2. JAPAN'S POSITION -- JAPAN'S LINKS WITH TAIWAN ARE HISTORIC, SENTIMENTAL, AND ECONOMIC. THE JAPANESE RULED TAIWAN SUCCESSFULLY AS A COLONY FROM 1895-1945, AND TAIWANESE MISSED THEM WHEN THEY WERE GONE. JAPANESE RESPECTED CHIANG KAI-SHEK FOR LACK OF VINDICTIVENESS WITH WHICH HE TREATED JAPAN AFTER ITS DEFEAT IN WORLD WAR II. THEY APPRECIATED TAIWAN AS A TRADING PARTNER (MORE THAN 3 BILLION DOLLARS BOTH WAYS IN 1974), AN AREA FOR PROFITABLE

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INVESTMENT (140 MILLION DOLLARS) AND A HAVEN FOR TOURISTS.

3. JAPANESE POLICYMAKERS DO NOT BELIEVE THAT AN ASSUMPTION OF CONTROL OVER TAIWAN BY PEKING WOULD POSE A DIRECT MILITARY THREAT TO JAPAN OR THE SECURITY OF ITS SEA LANES. THEY THINK THAT GOJ RECOGNITION OF PEKING IN 1972 FITTED BOTH THE REALITIES OF THE WORLD SITUATION AND THE DESIRES OF THE JAPANESE PEOPLE. WITH EXCEPTION OF EXTREME RIGHT FRINGE, NO ONE WANTS OR EXPECTS POLICY TO BE REVERSED. FURTHERMORE, MOST JAPANESE BELIEVE THAT IT IS ONLY A MATTER OF TIME, AND PROBABLY SHORT AT THAT, BEFORE US SHIFTS DIPLOMATIC TIES TO PEKING AND ENDS ITS SECURITY TREATY WITH GROC. NEVERTHELESS, THEIR OWN RECOGNITION OF PEKING NOTWITHSTANDING, JAPANESE WANT TAIWAN TO CONTINUE ITS EXISTENCE AS SEPARATE ENTITY, IN FACT IF NOT IN NAME, FREE FOR THEM TO ENJOY, TRADE WITH, AND INVEST IN. US IS RESPONSIBLE FOR PROTECTION OF TAIWAN'S AMBIGUOUS AUTONOMY AND JAPANESE INTERESTS WHICH DEPEND ON THIS STATUS. AS A RESULT, THE WAY IN WHICH WE ACCOMPLISH NORMALIZATION OF RELATIONS WITH PEKING IS OF GREAT IMPORTANCE TO THE JAPANESE AND ULTIMATELY TO US RELATIONS WITH JAPAN. IF THE TERMS UNDER WHICH WE RECOGNIZE PEKING ASSURE TAIWAN'S SEPARATE EXISTENCE FOR TIME BEING AND PROMISE THAT CHANGES WILL OCCUR GRADUALLY AND PEACEFULLY, JAPANESE WILL CONSIDER THEIR INTERESTS PROTECTED AND APPLAUD US LEADERSHIP AND FINESSE. IF ON OTHER HAND, WAY IN WHICH WE MANAGE CHANGE IN OUR RELATIONSHIP WITH PEKING DESTABILIZES TAIWAN ECONOMICALLY AND POLITICALLY, RESULTING IN SOCIETAL COLLAPSE AND/OR ACTION WHICH FORCES PEKING TO TRY MILITARY TAKEOVER, JAPAN WOULD BE PROFOUNDLY DISTURBED, AS MUCH BY QUESTIONS RAISED OVER US ABILITY TO HANDLE POWER AND INFLUENCE EFFECTIVELY IN ASIA, AS BY DEVELOPMENTS THEMSELVES. US RELIABILITY AS ALLY AND GUARANTOR OF JAPAN'S FUTURE SECURITY WOULD ALSO BE QUESTIONED.

4. MORE THAN LIKELY, MIKI WILL BRING UP TOPIC AS PART OF GENERAL REVIEW OF JAPAN AND US-CHINA POLICIES. HE BELIEVES THAT EVER TIGHTER US-CHINA-JAPAN RELATIONSHIP IS WAVE OF FUTURE. HAVING PROTECTED HIS RIGHT FLANK WITH RECENT AGREEMENT TO RESTORE AIRLINK TO TAIWAN, HE PLANS NEXT A CONCERTED EFFORT TO SIGN PEACE AND FRIENDSHIP TREATY WITH PEKING, AND WILL WANT TO KNOW HOW HIS PLANS

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DOVETAIL WITH THOSE OF THE UNITED STATES. AT SAME TIME, HE WILL HOPE TO HEAR CANDID TALK ABOUT OUR IDEAS ON HOW TAIWAN'S SEPARATE EXISTENCE MIGHT BE MAINTAINED.

5. RECOMMENDED US POSITION -- AMONG OTHER THINGS, WE MIGHT TELL MIKI THAT WE UNDERSTAND THE RELATIONSHIP THAT JAPAN HAS HAD WITH TAIWAN OVER THE YEARS AND JAPAN'S REASONS FOR DEEP INTEREST IN WELFARE OF ISLAND. US ALSO HAS STRONG

FEELINGS ABOUT TAIWAN, OLD TIES, AND IMPORTANT ECONOMIC LINKS. AT SAME TIME, NORMALIZATION OF RELATIONS WITH PEKING IS AS IMPORTANT A GOAL FOR US AS IT WAS FOR JAPAN, AND WE ARE EQUALLY DETERMINED IN DUE COURSE TO REDEFINE OUR FORMAL RELATIONSHIP WITH THE PRC IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE REALITIES OF PEKING'S POSITION. JAPAN HAS NOT BEEN RESPONSIBLE, AS IS THE UNITED STATES, FOR TAIWAN'S SECURITY. IT IS THE SECURITY RELATIONSHIP THAT WILL REQUIRE THE MOST CAREFUL HANDLING IN ANY CHANGES THAT ARE MADE AND NEGOTIATIONS WHICH ARE UNDERTAKEN. MIKI SHOULD BE ASSURED, HOWEVER, THAT WELFARE OF TAIWAN AND ITS PEOPLE WILL BE IMPORTANT FACTOR IN US CALCULATIONS AS SOLUTION WITH PEKING IS WORKED OUT.

6. DEPARTMENT MAY WISH TO PASS TO USLO PEKING AND AMEMBASSY TAIPEI.
SHOESMITH

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